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Jerusalem, by C. Schick. Presented by Dr. A. Petermann. A map of Greece and the Grecian Archipelago. Presented by Dr. A. Petermann. Admiralty Charts, 8 in number. Ordnance Sheets, 94 in number.

The Paper of the evening was the following:—

DESPATCHES and LETTERS relating to the last Journey and reported Death of DR. LIVINGSTONE. By DR. G. E. SEWARD, Acting-Consul, and DR. J. KIRK, Vice-Consul at Zanzibar.

1. *Despatches from DR. SEWARD, H.M. Acting Political Resident at Zanzibar, to Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

(Communicated by the FOREIGN OFFICE.)

“MY LORD,

“Zanzibar, December 10, 1866.

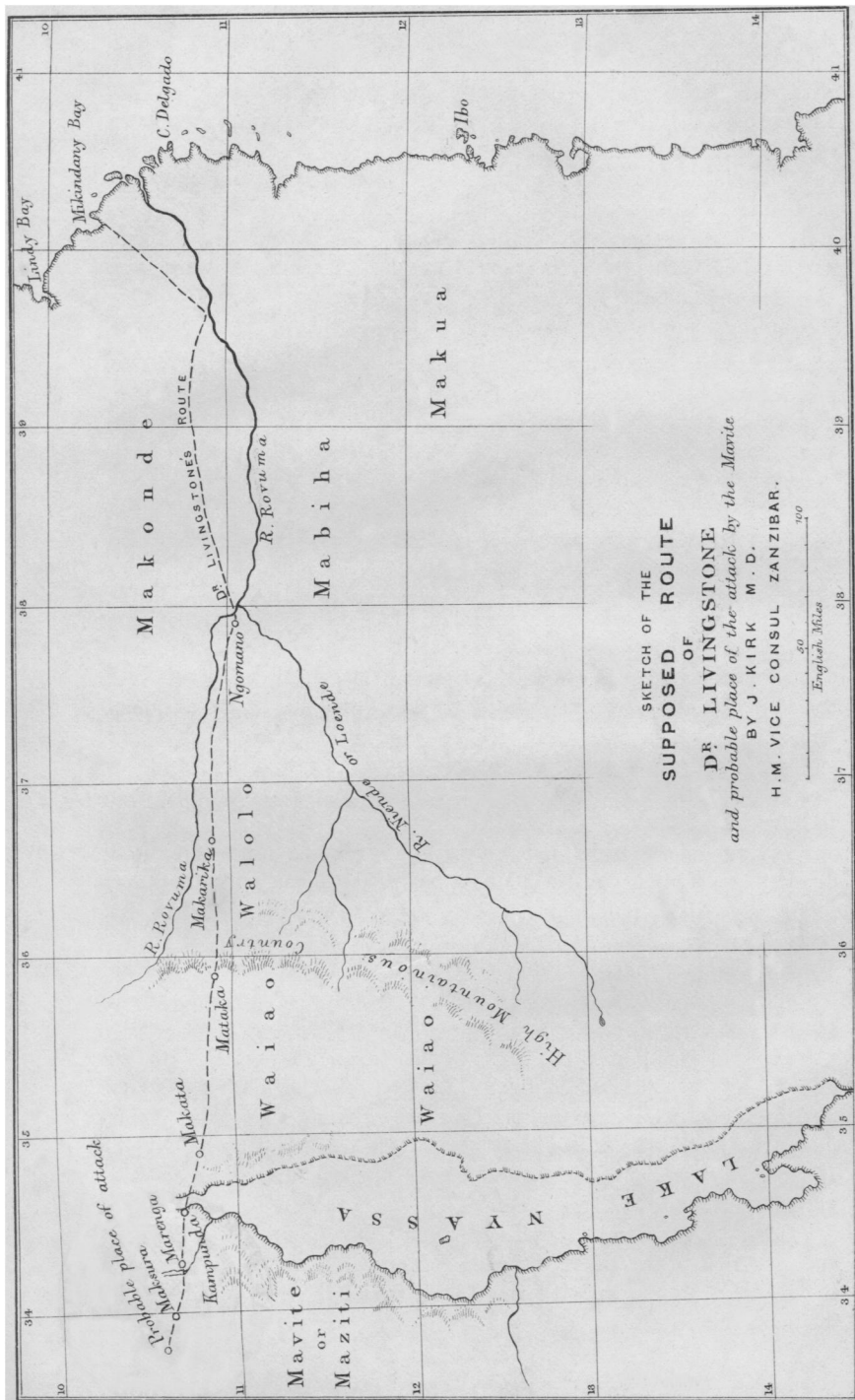
“I send you the saddest news. Dr. Livingstone, in his despatch from Ngomano, informed your Lordship that he stood ‘on the threshold of the unexplored.’* Yet, as if that which should betide him had already thrown its shadow, he added, ‘it is best to say little of the future.’

“My Lord, if the report of some fugitives from his party be true, this brave and good man has ‘crossed the threshold of the unexplored;’ he has confronted the future, and will never return.

“He was slain, so it is alleged, during a sudden and unprovoked encounter with those very Zulus of whom he says, in his despatch, that they had laid waste the country round about him, and had ‘swept away the food from above and in the ground.’ With an escort reduced to twenty by desertion, death, and dismissals, he had traversed, as I believe, that *terra incognita* between the confluence of the Loende and Rovuma rivers at Ngomano, and the eastern or north-eastern littoral of Lake Nyassa; had crossed the lake at some point, as yet unascertained; had reached a station named Kompoonda, or Mapoonda, on its western—probably its north-western—shores; and was pushing west or north-west into dangerous ground, when between Marenga and Maklisooru a band of implacable savages stopped the way, a mixed horde of Zulus, or Mafite, and Nyassa folk.

“The Nyassa folk were armed with bow and arrow, the Zulus

* “The dim outline of highlands appears even at this distance. They raise the spirits, but possibly this is caused partly by the fact that this is about 30 miles beyond our former turning-point and the threshold of the unexplored. I propose to make this, *i.e.*, Ngomano, my head-quarters till I have felt my way round Lake Nyassa. If prospects are fair there I need not return, but trust to another quarter for fresh supplies, but it is best to say little of the future.”—See ‘Proceedings Royal Geographical Society,’ vol. xi. p. 15.



SKETCH OF THE
SUPPOSED ROUTE
 OF
DR LIVINGSTONE
and probable place of the attack by the Marite
 BY J. KIRK M. D.
 H.M. VICE CONSUL ZANZIBAR.

with the traditional shield, broad-bladed spears, and axes. With Livingstone there were nine or ten muskets; his Johanna men were resting with their loads far in the rear.

"The Mafite instantly came on to fight; there was no parley, no avoidance of the combat; they came on with a rush, with war-cries, and rattling on their shields their spears. As Livingstone and his party raised their pieces, their onset was for a moment checked, but only for a moment.

"Livingstone fired, and two Zulus were shot dead (his boys fired too, but their fire was harmless); he was in the act of reloading, when three Mafite leapt upon him through the smoke. There was no resistance, there could be none, and one cruel axe-cut from behind put him out of life.

"He fell, and, when he fell, his terror-stricken escort fled hunted by the Mafite. One, at least, of the fugitives escaped; and he, the eye-witness, it is who tells the tale—Ali Moosa, chief of his escort of porters.

"The party had left the western shores of Nyassa about five days. They had started from Kompoonda, on the lake's borders (they left the Havildar of Sepoys there dying of dysentery, Livingstone had dismissed the other sepoys of the Bombay 21st at Mataka), and had rested at Marenga, where Livingstone was cautioned not to advance. The next station was Maklisooru; they were traversing a flat country broken by small hills, and abundantly wooded. Indeed, the scene of the tragedy so soon to be consummated would appear to have been an open forest-glade.

"Livingstone, as usual, led the way—his nine or ten unpractised musketeers at his heels. Ali Moosa had nearly come up with these, having left his own Johanna men resting with their loads far in the rear.

"Suddenly he heard Livingstone warn the boys that the Mafite were coming; the boys in turn beckoned Moosa to press forward. Moosa saw the crowd here and there between the trees.

"He had just gained the party, and sunk down behind a tree to deliver his own fire, when his leader fell. Moosa fled for his life along the path he had come, meeting his Johanna men, who threw down their loads, and in a body rushed off into the deeper forest. If the Mafite really passed Moosa, his escape and that of his people verges on the marvellous.

"However, at sunset, they in great fear left their forest refuge, and got back to the place where they hoped to find their baggage. It was gone, and then with increasing dread they crept to where the slain traveller lay.

"Near him, in front, lay the grim Zulus who were killed under his sure aim ; here and there lay scattered some four dead fugitives of the expedition. That one blow had killed him outright, he had no other wound but this terrible gash ; it must have gone, from their description, through the neck and spine up to the throat in front, and it had nearly decapitated him. Death came mercifully in its instant suddenness, for David Livingstone was 'ever ready.'

"They found him stripped only of his upper clothing, for the Mafite had respected him when dead. They dug with some stakes a shallow grave, and hid from the starlight the stricken temple of a grand spirit—the body of an apostle of freedom, whose martyrdom should make sacred the shores of that sea which his labours made known to us, and which, now baptized with his life's blood, men should henceforth know as 'Lake Livingstone.'

"The names of those who stood before the Mafite, with Livingstone, should not be unremembered :—

Adam.	James Chooma.
Maka.	Abraham Pariella.
Simon Price.	Edward Gardner.
Albert Baraka.	Lakoombo.
Malbrook Jooma.	Ali Moosa.

Of these, four were seen dead near the corpse of Livingstone ; the rest, save Ali Moosa, are missing.

"The Johanna men made the best of their way back to Kompoonda or Mapoonda, not venturing near any village or station ; they lost themselves in the jungle, and were fourteen days on the way.

"At Kompoonda they witnessed the end of the Havildar of Sepoys, Bombay 21st Native Infantry. He alone of all the Indians was faithful ; on the threshold of this Consulate at Zanzibar, he pledged himself at the moment of starting never to forsake his leader—nor did he ; to the last he struggled on, worn with dysentery, but broke down hopelessly on the road to Marenga. A day or two later, and he would have shared his leader's fate.

"Insubordinate, lazy, impracticable, and useless, Livingstone had dismissed the other sepoy at Mataka. Had they been faithful like their Havildar, I should not have had to inscribe a record of this sad happening. Their unfitness for African travel might have been predicted. At Kompoonda the Johanna men were deprived of their weapons by the Chief, who also kept the Havildar's. Here they joined an Arab slave-caravan, re-crossed the Nyassa, and made for Keelwa, the great slave outlet on the Zanzibar coast.

"But here again, and where least expected, they encountered the Mafite. They had reached Keepareygree, eight days south-west of

Keelwa, when the appearance of a band of these savages scattered the caravan. Abandoning ivory, slaves—their all—the Arab leaders thought but of saving their lives. The Johanna men again made their escape, and reached Keelwa, whence by the kindness of the Customs people they were at once sent on to Zanzibar. They arrived here on the 6th of December.

“It will be gratifying to the many and true friends of Dr. Livingstone to learn that, when on his sad end being known, the British flag was lowered at this Consulate, the French, American, and Hanseatic flags were at once flown half-mast-high, the Consuls paying a spontaneous tribute to his memory—an example shortly followed by all the foreign vessels in the harbour. The Sultan’s flag was also lowered.

“I must reserve other details for a subsequent letter; but I may state that no papers, effects, or relics of Livingstone are likely to be recovered.

“G. EDWIN SEWARD.

“*Postscript.*—The date of Dr. Livingstone’s death is left as much to conjecture as the place of his grave.

“All that we certainly know is, that he was at Ngomano on the 18th of May last; that he proceeded to Mataka, whence he sent a despatch to this Consulate.*

“From Mataka he is said to have made for and struck Nyassa, which he crossed; but where—or where Mataka is—cannot be ascertained.

“The runaway Reuben with the sepoy state that Livingstone left Mataka a few days before they set out on their return journey to Zanzibar.

“They were one month and twenty days on the road to Keelwa, which they reached during the latter days of September. It may be inferred from this that Livingstone left Mataka about the middle of July last.

“The Johanna men named six weeks as the probable time of their return journey from Mpoonda to Keelwa with the slave-caravan. The fight with the Zulus took place sixteen days before they set out. They reached Keelwa in November (Zanzibar, 6th December). Roughly, then, we may conjecture the death of their leader to have happened during September. The statements of our informants as to time, distance, and direction, are distressingly vague and untrustworthy.

“I purpose, however, and I shall associate Dr. John Kirk with

* This despatch has miscarried.

me in the labour, to visit Keelwa with the express purpose of conferring with the leaders of the slave-caravans there. Captain Bedingfeld of H.M.S. *Wasp* has obligingly consented to take me there, on his return from assisting a wreck in the neighbourhood.

“G. EDWIN SEWARD.”

“MY LORD,

“Zanzibar, 23rd Dec., 1866.

“My despatch of the 10th inst. dealt almost wholly with the manner of Dr. Livingstone's death, and but little was said that could interest geographers. I had, however, on the arrival of the Johanna men, requested Dr. John Kirk—so long Livingstone's associate—to make the geography of their statements his peculiar care.

“He has, to-day, December 23, handed in his report, which I have the honour to submit, together with the track-chart, which he has been good enough to construct.

“He has, I see, conceived Dr. Livingstone's route to be almost precisely that which the explorer himself, when my guest at Zanzibar, has over and over again pointed out on the map to me, and to Arabs of rank whom I wished to interest in his travels, as the one which he had determined on. And the intention of ‘feeling his way round Lake Nyassa,’ which Dr. Livingstone records in his despatch from Ngomano, shows that up to that time he had not given up his original plan.

“I think I shall soon be able to remove any uncertainty as to the position of Mpoonda or Kompoonda on the lake littoral. I learn that it is a populous and important place on the lake borders, and one of my informants has property and a resident agent there.

“It is said that Mataka first set the Zulus in motion westward, by inviting them to fall upon some Arabs, whom he himself was too weak to punish.

“Letters have just been received, stating that many Arabs had just been killed, and that too in perilous proximity to Keelwa. Certain it is that there is a general restlessness of the tribes between the East African coast and the lakes of the interior, and that trade is becoming less and less possible; and it is to this unpropitious condition of things that we may trace, perhaps, our irremediable loss.

“It may not be uninteresting to state that a brilliant and persistent rain of meteors, observed on the same November night both here and at Muscat, has been regarded as the certain sign and portent of ills present and to come, by Arabs in high places, who

associate the troubles in the interior and along the Arabian coast with this splendid starfall.

"In penning my previous letter I had it in my mind to anticipate doubts as to the verity of Dr. Livingstone's death, by giving reasons why the event should not be discredited. That the Johanna men alone should have escaped, whilst all the rest were missing, was certainly doubt-inspiring. But the defence which they at once put forward was one which could be accepted without difficulty; the more so as, in Dr. Kirk's experiences, the order of the little column tallied precisely with that observed in Livingstone's prior Nyassa wanderings.

"He led the advance, Moosa led the baggage-men. It so happened that they rested and were at the rear, and Moosa had strolled on in advance of his party, and saw what has been recorded.

"It is not supposed for an instant that Moosa himself was seen by the Mafite; his escape unseen, and his inability to warn his people, account for the seeming marvel of surviving a Zulu onset.

"But there was one point about which there was no prevarication, no hesitation, no difference, amongst the nine men. It was the one wound that had killed, and the solemn declaration that they had buried their slain leader.

"Again it must be remembered that these men returned to Zanzibar, when it would have been easier and safer to have gone home to Johanna. They came at once to the Political Agent, and invited, or at least laid themselves open to the scrutiny and cross-questioning, which they could altogether have avoided had there been foul play, or anything in their own conduct which they wished to conceal.

"They well knew too that, either in Johanna or Zanzibar, punishment would surely overtake them, were it ever discovered that the tale of their leader's death was spurious.

"I fear that we must accept Livingstone's death as one other of those mournful sacrifices which Africa insatiably demands from those who seek to let the light fall upon the mystery of her inner lands and Pagan people.

"G. EDWIN SEWARD."

2. DR. KIRK'S *Report on the Route followed by Dr. Livingstone.*

"SIR,

"Zanzibar, 20th Dec., 1866.

"I have the honour to inclose a brief account of what in my opinion was the route followed by Dr. Livingstone, and with it a rough map, showing what seems to be the probable position of the leading places mentioned.

"You are well aware how impossible it is from such data as we